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THE COALITION

OF THE

DEMOCRACY AND THE ABOLITIONISTS

IN OPPOSITION

TO THE

ADMINISTRATION OF GEN. TAYLOR.

The opposition to Gen. TAYLOR's Administration is characterized by more violence than any other has encountered, perhaps, since the formation of political parties in the country. It was expected, that those who enjoyed twenty years almost of unbroken power would exhibit both sullenness and spleen when driven off from feasting and rioting amid the spoils of office.—This, we say, was expected; but there was reason to believe also, that men so extravagant in professions of Democracy, would, for the sake of decency at least, submit to the will of the People, and conduct their partisan warfare with due respect to candor and fairness. Reasonable as it was, the hope is disappointed; and now all the odds and ends of faction are banded together for a common purpose—the destruction of the Administration. A coalition has been formed which, as the surest means of rallying the friends of good government to the support of a National Party, it is our intention to expose. This coalition, influenced, we are bound to believe, by no motive but to secure and dispense patronage, is the more despicable because of the rancorous enmity which so recently existed between its prominent supporters. It is a Coalition between the Democracy and the Abolitionists, a coalition on which the former base all their hopes of restoration to power, and the latter all their prospects of becoming the dominant party.—Against this coalition, powerful in numbers, base in its conception, and corrupt in principle, stands opposed a National Party, at the head of which is ZACHARY TAYLOR, with “no private purposes to accomplish, no party projects to build up, no enemies to punish—nothing to serve but his country.”

It may be well, perhaps, before tracing the progress of the new coalition, to recur to past events, with which it is in some degree connected. The question of slavery, much to the regret of all who discountenance sectional jealousies and agitations, entered largely into the public discussions of the last Presidential canvass. And it will not be denied, we presume, that while the Northern Democracy were lavish in their denunciations of “ZACHARY TAYLOR, the Southern slaveholder,” their political brethren of the South hurled anathema after anathema against “MILLARD FILLMORE, the Northern Abolition-

ist.” Thus the Whigs of the North were stigmatized at home as betrayers of freedom, and the Whigs of the South proclaimed at league with fanatics and incendiaries against their own firesides and hearthstones. The Southern Democracy, too, under the lead of the Washington Union, singing all the while hosannas to the Northern Democrats as “the natural allies of the South,” made every shift and adopted every expedient to show that Northern Whigs and Northern Abolitionists were identical and indivisible. Whether these things were spoken in jest or earnest, or whether they were shallow tricks of the adroit and skilful in the arts of political jugglery, is a matter of little consequence. In time they will be properly estimated; it is sufficient now to know, that they were anything but truthful. Long before they were uttered the “natural allies” placed on record evidence somewhat dubious, we must confess, of their fealty to the South. As a specimen of what they mean by non-intervention and fraternity we submit certain resolutions of the Legislatures of Maine, New Hampshire, and Michigan, States in which they are so powerful that their dominion may be said to be almost despotic. They are as follows:

Resolutions of Maine, passed August 3, 1847.

“*Resolved*, That the sentiment of this State is profound, sincere, and almost universal, that the influence of slavery upon productive energy is like the blight of mildew; that it is a moral and social evil; that it does violence to the rights of man, as a thinking, reasonable, and responsible being. Influenced by such considerations, this State will oppose the introduction of slavery INTO ANY TERRITORY which may be acquired as an indemnity for claims upon Mexico.”

Resolutions of New Hampshire, February 19, 1847.

“That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State be respectfully requested to urge the passage of measures for the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, for its exclusion from Oregon and other Territories that now or at any time hereafter may belong to the United States, for all constitutional measures for the suppression of the domestic slave trade, and to resist the admission

of any new State into the Union **WHILE TOLERATING SLAVERY.**"

Resolution of the New Hampshire Democratic Convention.

"Resolved, That among the doctrines of the Democratic party, the most important is an abiding adherence to the compromises of the Constitution, as the anchor of safety to the Union itself—while at the same time none are more opposed than ourselves to the continuance or wider extension of slavery, and that we will oppose so great an evil to the progress of civilization and humanity whenever a proper occasion shall arrive, and by every measure consistent with the Constitution and its compromises; and that we deem the imputations of our opponents on that subject too false to be worthy of regard, too frivolous to be deserving of answer, too inconsistent, coming, as they do, from men who oppose the concession of an hour's respite from labor to our own white laborers of the North, to rise to a point where they may be reached by any other sentiment than contempt. **For we declare it our solemn conviction, as the Democratic party have heretofore done, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should hereafter exist in any territory which may be acquired by or annexed to the United States, and that we approve of the votes of our delegates in Congress in favor of the Wilmot Proviso.**"

Resolutions of Michigan—March, 1, 1847.

"That in the acquisition of new territory, whether by purchase, conquest, or otherwise, we deem it the duty of the General Government to extend over the same the Ordinance of 1787, (being the one prohibiting slavery northwest of the Ohio,) with all its rights and privileges, conditions, and immunities."

These confessions of faith, it must be conceded, are not quite in union with the Southern platform which the Democracy have erected, and abundantly prove withal, that the most trusted allies sometimes become the most treacherous friends.

After this, there is no longer occasion for the Democratic orators and Democratic press at the South to waste breath on Giddings and Palfrey. The resolutions we have quoted, will answer every purpose in alarming the people of the South. Besides they foreshadowed the very condition of things which has finally come about, and which the signal defeat of General LEWIS CLARK for the Presidency served to hasten, the Coalition of the Democracy and the Abolitionists. The first fruit of this coalition was the election of SALMON P. CHASE, United States Senator, from the State of Ohio, in place of William Allen. The free-soilers had two votes in both branches of the Legislature, and yet they compelled the Democracy to elect an avowed Abolitionist to the United States Senate, in consideration of securing certain judgeships for their faithful followers.

The next evidence we have of this coalition, is the complete union of the joint forces of De-

mocracy and Free-soil at the Congressional elections in Connecticut, by which the opponents of the Administration gained three members in the House of Representatives. The successful candidates of this combination were CHAUNCEY F. CLEVELAND, LOREN P. WALDO, and WALTER BOOTH. And here it were well to note the fact that Gov. Cleveland and Mr. Waldo were on the Cass electoral ticket voted for in November. The letter of the first-named gentleman was read in the Free-soil convention for the third Congressional district, which met at Norwich, March 13, 1849. We give the following extracts:

"HAMPTON, March 10, 1849.

"H. HAMMOND, Esq.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 8th inst., asking me to answer certain questions which you propounded, is received, and I embrace the first opportunity afforded me, to forward you a reply."

"Without my knowledge, and against my wishes, a Convention of my friends assembled at Norwich, on the 15th of February last, placed me in nomination for the office of Representative, in the next Congress of the United States for this District, and you inquire of me whether, if elected (an improbable event by the way) I will sustain that measure which proposes to exclude slavery from the Territories of New Mexico and California? Whether I will do all in my power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia? And whether I am opposed to, and will continue to oppose, in all constitutional ways, the admission of any more slave States into the Union?

"To these inquiries I have to reply that, entertaining no doubt of the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories, I am decidedly in favor of its exercise, in such a manner as will effectually prevent the introduction of slavery and its attendant evils into New Mexico and California, and into any Territory of the United States now free. That regarding the existence of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, as a great and unmitigated wrong, I AM IN FAVOR OF THEIR ABOLITION in the most easy, speedy, and practicable manner, by the action of Congress. And being uncompromisingly opposed to the extension of slavery beyond the limits within which it now exists, I could never consent to the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

"The only remaining inquiry propounded by your letter, is in the following words: 'Do you subscribe, in the main, to the principles of the Buffalo platform, as erected at the Buffalo Convention, held August 9, 1848?'

"In reply to this enquiry, I would state that I have examined the resolutions composing the platform referred to, and in the main, think them to be Democratic. One of those resolutions is in relation to cheap postage, &c., and another in relation to the disposition which should be made of the Public Lands. These resolutions are, in my judgment, eminently just, and truly democratic. I CAN, THEREFORE, VERY CHEER-

FULLY SUBSCRIBE TO THE DOCTRINES THEY CONTAIN."

"I have thus briefly, though I believe fully answered the several inquiries which you have been pleased to propound to me. And it only remains for me to say that should I be honored with an election to the post for which I have been nominated, these views which I have expressed will be fearlessly asserted and faithfully defended."

"Very respectfully,

"Your friend and servant,

"C. F. CLEVELAND."

These pledges of absolute servitude to the Abolitionists secured their nomination to Ex-Gov. Cleveland, which was subsequently accepted. His letter of acceptance, of March 17, 1849, reiterates the same opinions. We have space only for the following pertinent extracts:

"The principles which they [the resolutions of the Free-soil Convention] declare, and the spirit pervading them, have my entire and hearty approbation. *They are, in every sense of the word, democratic and true.* And I rejoice to believe that they meet with a warm response from the honest hearts of the Democracy of Connecticut. Entertaining these views, I accept the nomination which the friends of Free-soil in this Congressional district have so generously tendered me.

"I am happy to know that these sentiments [opposition to slavery and the slavetrade in the District of Columbia, and to its further extension] pervade the masses of the Democracy of the North and the great West, and that through its vital principles of progression, and its thorough identification with the spirit of the age, the Democratic party, in those vast sections of country, is fast unshackling itself from all connexion with slavery, and becoming truly free."

"My position as the candidate of the Democratic Convention, holden at Norwich, on the 15th ultimo, for the same office for which your Convention selected me, led me to a very careful examination of the resolutions which you forwarded to me, and upon which I have here briefly expressed my opinions; *and I was happy to find that the principles embodied in those resolutions were so truly democratic that I could accept your nomination without forfeiting the generous confidence of friends who have hitherto stood by and sustained me,* and for whose partiality and kindness I can never be too grateful.

"C. F. CLEVELAND."

"Messrs. E. Perkins and Prescott May, Secretaries, &c."

Mr. Chauncey F. Cleveland certainly marched up with fervent alacrity, considering he is a "natural ally of the South," to the principles of the Buffalo Convention. Not a whit behind him, however, were Messrs. Waldo and Booth. Each of them subscribed fully to the faith, and each of them became duly adopted in the Abolition household. The following is the correspon-

dence between Mr. Waldo and Mr. W. H. Burleigh, the catechist of the Free Soilers. It speaks for itself:

Mr. Burleigh's letter.

"HARTFORD, March 27, 1849.

"To L. P. WALDO, Esq.

"DEAR SIR: As you are a candidate for Congress from this District, I take the liberty to address to you the following questions, soliciting your answers for publication:

"1. Do you believe that Congress has the power to exclude slavery, by legislative enactments, from the territories, *and, if elected, would you give your vote and influence for such exclusion?*

"2. Do you believe that Congress has the power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and wherever they exist under the jurisdiction of the General Government, *and, if elected, would you give your vote and influence in favor of such abolition?*

"Respectfully yours,

"W. H. BURLEIGH."

Mr. Waldo's Reply.

"TOLLAND, March 28, 1849.

"WM. H. BURLEIGH, Esq.

"SIR: I have just received yours of the 27th inst., soliciting for publication my answers to certain interrogatories therein stated.

"I have not time to reply to these interrogatories as I could wish, and shall only briefly say, that to your first inquiry my answer IS in the affirmative.

"To your second inquiry I would reply, that I have ALWAYS MAINTAINED that Congress had the power to regulate and abolish the institution of slavery in districts exclusively under its legislative control, and that it should exercise this power in a reasonable manner, having for its object the speedy and entire abrogation of all laws in such districts, authorizing any man to hold his fellow man in bondage.

"In whatever position I may be called to act, I shall, unless my views are materially changed, be governed by the sentiments herein expressed, and my highest ambition will be satisfied, if I may, in any manner, be instrumental in elevating the condition of suffering humanity, wherever found, or in contributing to the relief of the oppressed."

"Yours, respectfully,

"LOREN P. WALDO."

The character of this Mr. Burleigh whom Mr. Waldo so graciously assures, that it will ever be his highest ambition to "contribute to the relief of the oppressed," should not be lost sight of in this connexion. In fanaticism and bitterness, he is first among the Abolitionists of Connecticut. He is the editor of an Abolition journal, and not more than a year or two before this correspondence, the Democracy indignant at his course on the Mexican War, gathered a mob about his premises, and threatened to destroy his office. He was fitly chosen then, as the instrument of a coalition between the men who mobbed him, and his Abolition associates.

The letter of Mr. Booth embodied the same sentiments as those of Messrs. Cleveland and Waldo. At all events it satisfied the Abolitionists, among whom it was secretly circulated, and secured their votes.

The obligation of mutual "aid and comfort" between the high-contracting parties in Connecticut was not cancelled, however, by the result of the Congressional elections. It was in full force when the Legislature assembled the 2d of May, at Hartford, on which, in consequence of a failure to elect by the people, the choice of State officers devolved. The Senate was decidedly Whig, but the House was in the hands of the Democracy and the Abolitionists, and the officers of that body were parcelled out share and share alike between them. And on the joint vote of the two Houses for State officers, while only one of the "Free Democracy" voted for the Whig candidates, *eleven* went straight-out for the candidates of their Radical allies. The remainder, nine in all, either threw away their votes or did not vote at all.

Over this victory of the Coalition of the Democracy and the Abolitionists the *Washington Union*, mangle all its clamor for the rights of the South, rejoiced as lustily as the most ultra of the "Free Democracy." We subjoin the following specimens of its merry-making:

From the Union of April 5th, 1849.

"If the Democrats have carried three members of Congress it will serve to show that the *Democracy of the Union is rallying*—that they have gained ground in Connecticut as well as in New Hampshire—and that it requires only greater exertion to redeem entirely the defeat of November last. It also shows that the next House of Representatives may be redeemed."

From the Union of April 6th, 1849.

"The ultra Whig press is attempting to depreciate the recent *Democratic* victory in Connecticut. The victory, at least, seems now to be conceded. And this important result seems also to be certain: *that in all great party questions we obtain three more votes from the land of steady habits than we had before*, making a difference of six votes in favor of the republican party compared with the last House of Representatives. This result will animate the Democracy of VIRGINIA and all the other States which have yet to vote."

Encouraged by this brilliant example, the Democracy of the city of New York, surrendered to the Free-soilers at the spring election. Their candidate, for the Mayoralty having declined, they immediately adopted MENDENT VAN SHAIK, the Free-soil candidate; and, in consideration of this concession, the Free-soilers refrained from nominating judicial tickets. Nothing loth, that high-mettled champion of Southern institutions, the *Washington Union*, in anticipation of another "Democratic victory," was among the first to invoke blessings on the meretricious connexion. That paper, of Sunday, April 1st, 1849, prior to the union of the two

divisions of its party, thus rebuked a contemporary for pressing the pretensions of Mr. Van Shaick:

"The New York Evening Post seems bent on defeating the election of a *Democratic Mayor*, and does not hesitate to recommend Mr. Van Shaick *because* he has been a friend of the Free-soilers. Can this perturbed spirit of the Free-soil clique never sleep?"

On Tuesday, however, the *Union* volunteered to act as pacificator. It then said: "*Unless the Democrats unite their votes in favor of one candidate they will be defeated.*" Recurring to the subject on Thursday, it manifested its anxiety for the success of the coalition as follows:

From the Union of April 5, 1849.

"A correspondent in New York writes us, on Monday night, that 'If Van Shaick be nominated for Mayor to-night by the Democratic convention, (at Tammany Hall,) he will be elected; the *Barnburners* having PREVIOUSLY nominated him.' But the New York Courier of Tuesday, says that, 'after a strong debate, (the night before,) the hunker convention succeeded in nominating for Mayor, F. B. Cutting, Esq., as their candidate, by a vote of 29 to 23.'"

And the next day, it cheerly announced that "the Democrats *had* united their votes in favor of one candidate," and that candidate was Mr. Van Shaick. We give its own language:

From the Union of Friday, April 6, 1849.

"Mr. Cutting declines the nomination, and the Convention of Tammany Hall has nominated Mr. Van Shaick as the democratic candidate. The New York True Sun speaks in high terms of his qualifications, and says all candid men admit that 'his election is as nearly certain as any future event can be.' We re-echo another sentiment of the True Sun; 'Mr. Van Shaick's election may be considered certain, and we cannot but express the *confident* hope that it will result not only in a great advantage to the PUBLIC WELFARE, but also in securing the integrity and ascendancy of the *Democratic party* in the City and State.'"

The gratulations of the *Union*, nevertheless its coquetting and wooing with the Barnburners, were a little too hasty. The fierce Democracy of New York were too mindful of past injuries, to be sold so cheaply to "the perturbed spirit of the Free soil clique." Mr. Van Shaick was consequently defeated.

Near about the same time the Democracy and Abolitionists of Wisconsin were earnestly occupied, framing a compact of their own. The history, and the terms of it, are stated by one of the parties, as follows:

From the "Daily Wisconsin" of April 9.

"THE UNITED DEMOCRACY OF WISCONSIN.—We learn that, previous to the adjournment of the Legislature, the *Democrats and Free-soilers* perfected a union on the basis of sound principles, and that, in consequence thereof, but one *State Convention* is to be called next fall for the nomination of Governor, &c., to be represented

by two delegates from each Assembly district in the State.

"It has long been perceived that the differences were a mere matter of organization. That tenacity has fortunately yielded, and now the Democrats who supported Cass and Van Buren will work together, and thus secure in Wisconsin a Democratic majority alike impregnable to the efforts and seductions of the Taylor Administration. The united majority of Cass and Van Buren over Taylor was 11,000. We can scarcely expect so large a majority hereafter, as many Whigs who acted with the Free-soil party will join the Taylor party; but we can give the largest Democratic majority of any State in the Union.

"It is pertinently suggested that *the example of the Democracy of our glorious State will be found worthy of emulation in other States.* We have a natural pride in saying that Wisconsin is the pioneer State, where *this Union has been first consummated.*"

The "basis of sound principles" on which the union was effected, is disclosed in the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That while we will faithfully adhere to all the compromises of the Constitution, and maintain all the reserved rights of the States, we declare, since the crisis has arrived when that question must be met, *our uncompromising hostility to the extension of slavery into any Territory of the United States which is now free.*

"Resolved, That in organizing governments for New Mexico and California, *the introduction and existence of slavery in those Territories should be positively prohibited by act of Congress.*

"Resolved, That there should be *no more Slave States* admitted into the Federal Government.

"Resolved, That the national laws recognizing or sustaining slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia, or any other place under control of the Federal Government OUGHT TO BE IMMEDIATELY REPEALED."

The example of the Democracy of Wisconsin was "found worthy of emulation in other States." The Democracy of Vermont made quite as full a surrender to the Abolitionists. The two parties in that State, by previous understanding doubtless, met in separate Conventions the 31st of May, at Montpelier.

The Democracy, true to their progressive doctrines, closed the sittings of their Convention, and marched off with flying colors into the Convention of the Abolitionists. The joint concern then nominated a ticket for State officers, which we will endeavor to sample out fairly.—The candidate for Governor is Horatio Needham, formerly the candidate of the Liberty party for Lieutenant Governor, of which he was for many years a distinguished supporter.—Daniel Roberts, Jr., another remnant of the Liberty Party—one of the "319" in the whole State who voted for James G. Birney, the Abolition

candidate for the Presidency in 1840—is the candidate for Lieutenant Governor. And Joseph Poland, who was for five years the editor of the Organ of the Liberty party in the State, is the candidate for State Treasurer. The resolutions adopted, so far as they relate to slavery, were the following:

"Resolved, That, as liberty is the clearest right and dearest interest of the individual, and its security the highest duty of the body politic, we declare, as the first point and article in this organization, that American slavery is a great evil and wrong, which ought to be repented of and abandoned.

Resolved, That we claim no authority in the Federal Government to abolish slavery in the several States, but we do claim for it constitutional power *perpetually to prohibit the introduction of slavery into territory now free, and abolish it wherever, under the jurisdiction of Congress, it exists.*

Resolved, That this power ought immediately to be exercised in prohibiting the introduction and existence of slavery in New Mexico and California, in abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, on the high seas, and wherever else, under the Constitution, it can be reached.

Resolved, That *no more slave States should be admitted into the Federal Union.*"

Next in the order of succession follows the Barnburners of New York city, under the auspices of Benjamin F. Butler. He proposes to unite the followers of the Buffalo Convention, the supporters of Van Buren, and the supporters of Cass throughout the State, against the Administration of President TAYLOR. The programme of this proposed movement was put forth in a series of resolutions, passed June 18, 1849, by a set of individuals who call themselves the "Democratic Republican Committee of the city and county of New York." We annex such of them as are pertinent to the matter in hand:

"Resolved, That to protect this great interest, [the interest of the Free-soil party,] and to ensure, in other respects, a sound administration of public affairs, *it is indispensable that there should be a reunion of the Democratic party on the great principles of human rights promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and set forth in the inaugural address of its author; and that we hail, with unmingled satisfaction, the beginnings of this reunion in the measures lately taken in Wisconsin, Vermont, and several other States.*

"Resolved, That, to make the proposed union permanent and effectual, it must come spontaneously from themselves, and must be founded in a clear recognition of fundamental principles; and that *paramount among these, in the present state of our national affairs, is the Jeffersonian policy, of prohibiting, after the manner of the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, the existence of human servitude, except as a punishment for crime, in the new free territories of the United States.*"

None who have watched the current of events for the last two or three months can doubt that this "reunion of the Democratic party on the great principles of human rights," for which the pious Mr. Butler so devoutly prays, will be quickly consummated: Indeed, preliminaries for the reunion of those discordant elements of the Democratic party, the Hunkers and Barnburners, the disciples of "the colored abolitionist" Frederick Douglass, the followers of Van Buren, and those of Cass and Butler, are already agreed upon. And in a few days it is presumable, that the treaty of alliance between them will be promulgated in due form at Albany.

That this coalition is to extend to all the free States of the Union, is too plain to be questioned. It is plain, too, that it is a coalition, which, to a certain extent, has the connivance, if not the concurrence of the Democracy of the South. Their Organ, or the paper which has assumed that character, the *Washington Union*, is forsooth almost as deeply implicated in it as Joshua R. Giddings, Joshua Leavitt, or Benjamin F. Butler. We have seen its exultation at the triumph of the coalition in Connecticut, and its solicitude also for the success of Van Shaick, the Free soiler in the city of New York. We have seen it proclaim the election to Congress of men pledged to the principles of the Buffalo Convention, a "*Democratic victory*;" and we have seen it hail with undisguised satisfaction the nomination for a high municipal office of one who, despite of its invectives, stood by the nominees of that Convention. Is there no hypocrisy, no double-dealing, no deception in this? Is the *Union* true or false to its colors? Its own conduct must determine. Let us see what it thought in times past of such coalitions. We make brief extracts from its columns a year back.

From the Union of August 17, 1848.

"This is *practical Abolition*, [the resolutions of the Buffalo Convention,] and its effect is obvious. It places Mr. Van Buren in the hands of the Abolitionists and of those *abolitionizing* Whigs who form so large a portion of the Whig party in Massachusetts and Ohio, and who are numerous also in the Whig ranks in New York. The Northern *Democracy*, on the other hand—even the fiercest of the rank-and-file of the "Barnburners" in New York—will shrink from such company."

From the Union of August 18, 1848.

"Can they [the Democrats of New York] witness the proceedings of the Buffalo Convention WITHOUT THE DEEPEST DISGUST. * * * And Mr. Van Buren sinks into the champion of SUCH A DISGUSTING COALITION, to gratify his ambition or to satiate his revenge!"

"The Democrats of the State of New York have every motive that can animate high-minded men and indomitable Republicans, to cast out THESE FACTIOUS BARNBURNERS who would sacrifice the Union to their passions.—*These men are worse than Whigs.*"

From the Union of August 19, 1848.

THE BUFFALO CONVENTION.—The more we hear of their actions from those who witnessed them, the more we see of their speeches and resolutions, the more we are DISGUSTED with their proceedings. THEIR RESOLUTIONS ARE ULTRA-ABOLITIONISM."

From the Union of August 20, 1848.

"Both parties are deservedly indignant at the movement, [the Buffalo resolutions,] because it is calculated to build up a new "northern party" on the most mischievous of all distinctions in a confederacy of States—sectional feelings and geographical interests."

From the Union of August 24, 1848.

"But there is one feature in the disgusting pirouettes of this man [Martin Van Buren] which marks his character. We do not speak of the motley and monstrous character of the convention to which he owes his nomination, DISGRACEFUL as that coalition is."

* * * * *
"It is his appealing to sectional feelings, to geographical lines, to build up a northern party—of all others the most fatal to the union of these States—warned as he was by Washington, and pledged by his own solemn declarations—if Martin Van Buren could be bound by any solemn declarations."

* * * * *
"In the mean time, we repeat what we have before asserted, that the Barnburners stand upon immeasurably worse ground than the Whigs, because of their placing themselves upon a sectional party, so threatening to the Union of our country."

Such were the anathemas of the *Union* against the Free-soilers in 1848. Where are those anathemas now! Is it possible that he who could not speak of the Buffalo Convention "without the deepest disgust," who denounced its followers as "desperate and selfish factionists," who proclaimed its resolutions "ultra-abolitionism," who appealed to the Republicans of New York "to cast out the factious Barnburners" whom he derided as "worse than Whigs"—is it possible that he has no voice of warning for the South? Is not the union of the Democracy and the Abolitionists in New York, Ohio, Connecticut, Vermont, and Wisconsin, soon to be perfected every where, "a disgraceful coalition?" Are not the resolutions of their Conventions as pregnant with "practical abolition" as those which were passed at Buffalo? Are not they, too, "building up a Northern party," are they not creating "the most mischievous of all distinctions in a confederacy of States—sectional feelings and geographical interests?" Why, then, is the *Union* less indignant now than in 1848? Is it the tempting prospect of the spoils of office, which it expects the Democracy to enjoy four years hence by the overthrow of Gen. TAYLOR's Administration, through the instrumentality of this "disgusting coalition," that thus ties its tongue and hushes its speech?

There are still other grounds for believing that the *Union* has no longer any feeling of disgust towards these proceedings. Almost contemporaneous with the consummation of these several coalitions, Mr. Ritchie announced his intention to bring into his establishment an associate editor "from the North or Northwest." Here is the announcement to which we allude :

From the Union of April 17, 1849.

"We owe every thing to our principles and our party, and we are making arrangements to infuse such FURTHER TALENT AND ENERGY INTO OUR PAPER AS THE OCCASION OBVIOUSLY REQUIRES. We have great confidence in our cause, as well as in ourselves; great confidence in the associate whom we shall attempt to bring into our establishment FROM THE NORTH OR NORTHWEST; and we trust we are not mistaken when we add, great confidence in the Republican party. We shall stand by them; and we appeal to them to stand by us."

A month later the mystery was unveiled, and the associate turned up in the person of EDMUND BURKE, the Ex-Commissioner of Patents. And who, pray, is Mr. Burke? We only answer, whatever he may be, he is a slavery restrictionist, a Wilmot provisoist. Here is the proof. When the bill "to organize a territorial government in the Territory of Oregon, and for other purposes," was under consideration in the House of Representatives, Monday, February 3, 1845, the following amendment was proposed to the 6th section :

"Provided, however, That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."—*Globe*, 2d sess. 28th, Cong. p. 236.

For this amendment, EDMUND BURKE, then a member of Congress from New Hampshire, voted; and this vote, according to Mr. Ritchie, makes him before all the world, an enemy of the South, a sympathiser with a party of geographical divisions and sectional interests! But this is not all. Somewhere about the year 1837 or '38, he edited a paper, at Newport, New Hampshire, called the "Argus and Spectator," and through its columns propagated appeals to "Democratic Abolitionists." He found no fault then, with those wayward disciples of Democracy, for "dissenting from slavery, and desiring its removal." He only cautioned them "to be ware and not get entrapped in the toils of Federalism." Now he maligns Gen. TAYLOR for having called Mr. Ewing and Judge Collamer into his cabinet. What a fit associate for the guardian of Southern rights, is a slavery restrictionist, and the friend of "Democratic Abolitionists!" What is this, we would inquire, but one of those "unhallowed combinations" which formerly aroused all the ire, and excited the "deepest disgust" in Mr. Ritchie! How dares he to denounce Northern Whigs as Abolitionists, how dares he to upbraid Southern Whigs with lack of fidelity to the South? With what face can he reaffirm the

sentiments proclaimed in his "Reply to the *Charleston Mercury*" of March 27th, 1847? Does it belong to him to declare, "from first to last we have rejected and condemned the doctrine of the Wilmot proviso?" Has he "rejected and condemned" the Democratic Abolitionists of New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, Connecticut and Vermont, has he cast out Edmund Burke with his Wilmot proviso doctrines! Now, we do not mean to charge the Southern editor of the *Union* with changing his opinions on the question of slavery, but we do charge him with suppressing those he is known to entertain, with condemning himself to silence, and again with rejoicing and exulting, while "unhallowed combinations" and "disgraceful coalitions" are going on between the Democracy and the Abolitionists, for the benefit and advantage of the Democratic family. This is our charge, and this much we think we have proved.

The cement of this Coalition, undeniably, is opposition to the Administration of General TAYLOR, to embarrass and finally to break down which, is the highest ambition of these despicable factionists. A great Northern Party, embracing every creed and every opinion, a party of geographical divisions and sectional feuds is to be the consummation of their "bargain, intrigue, and corruption." Against them, their plots and machinations, the Whigs of the North and the Whigs of the South, discarding all differences of opinion as to slavery, have rallied a National Party. This party, republican in principle and national in its objects, they invite all who desire the peace, prosperity, and glory of a people, undivided and indivisible, to unite with. They invite all the patriotic and conservative to unite with them; because it is this party which is to preserve the Constitution inviolate alike from the assaults of Northern fanatics and Southern disunionists; because it is this party which is to maintain the peace of the country, and, finally, because it is this party which is to secure wholesome laws, and protect the rights of all classes in the Republic.

This party holding to these principles as the only guaranty of a well regulated government; liberal, just, and beneficent in its aims, is and must be the Party of the People. Uniting under the flag of the Constitution, not Whigs alone, but Independent Democrats, in every section of the country, it battled against the usurpations and corruptions of a reckless Administration, and carried ZACHARY TAYLOR triumphantly into the Presidency. And now that he is pursued by a factious minority, now that the Democracy and the Abolitionists have coalesced with a view to defeat his administrative policy, this party adheres the more firmly to his fortunes. It will stand by, and sustain, and cheer him on in perfecting the work of purification and reform, in which the people feel so profound an interest.

His enemies may assail him as an "imbecile, ignorant tyrant," may liken him to "Nero," the most infamous of Roman Emperors, and stigmatize him as a "butcher," but they can neither

shake his unconquerable will, nor impair the confidence of his friends in his honesty of purpose, nor yet in his ability and determination to restore the Government to what it was in the days of the earlier Presidents. A corrupt Press, under the lead of the *Washington Union*, may charge him again and again with a "violation of solemn pledges," may characterize him as a "whitened sepulchre," and proclaim it far and wide that the President of the People is "disgracing himself," but even this vituperation will fail to break the force and power of his name with the warm hearted, incorruptible masses.

They know too well how to count the value of such filthy outpourings from these political sewers, to be disturbed thereby. They remember that WASHINGTON, by universal consent, one of the purest men of his or any other age, was exposed to similar abuse because he was firm and exact in the discharge of his Executive duties. They know every act of his Administration was censured, and he himself, "Father of his Country" as he was, decried as a monarchist, and denounced as guilty of incivism, and as the patron of kingly forms and ceremonies. They know that JEFFERSON, the great Apostle of Democracy, was made the victim of innumerable libels, and his measures ridiculed in the pasquinades of Bryant, the editor of the *New York Evening Post*, now a prominent character in coalition against Gen. TAYLOR's Administration. They know that JAMES BUCHANAN, after charging MADISON with "involving the country in a disgraceful war, from which it was extricated by a more disgraceful peace," was stopped for sheer want of time only, on a certain memorable occasion, from recounting all "the other blunders of that Democratic Administration." They know too, that THOMAS RITCHIE, once of the *Richmond Enquirer*, now of the *Washington Union*, was foremost among those who let loose the vials of wrath on JACKSON, when, in obedience to the voice of his countrymen, he first stood a candidate for the Presidency. They know that the same Ritchie, who derides Gen. TAYLOR, as men of proper self-respect would scarce deride a clown, and daily charges him with surrendering his high trust to "an irresponsible cabal," scoffed at Gen. JACKSON in terms no less vulgar, sneered at his qualifications for the Presidential office, and "*deprecating his election as a curse upon our country.*"

Yes, the people know that Washington, the hero of the Revolution—Jefferson, who draughted the Declaration of Independence—Madison, who carried the country safely and brilliantly through the war of 1812—and Jackson, who won for himself, in that war, the title of the "hero of New Orleans," each and all of them felt the sting of political vipers. They could

not expect, therefore, to witness a lack of hissing and venom when the hero of Palo Alto, Resaca, Monterey, and Buena Vista, came by their authority to put down the spoilsmen and corruptionists whom power had made insolent and reckless. Let these libellers rail on, then, without stint; they have no power to injure. The People, in very loathing and disgust of the vile coalition to which they pander, will rally around the Administration, and bear it successfully through its trials, in proud defiance of its malicious and revengeful assailants.

* It is deemed appropriate to republish here, what THOMAS RITCHIE, the *Southern Editor* of the *Washington Union*, once thought of Gen. JACKSON, whose most obsequious flatterer he subsequently became, and also Gen. JACKSON's estimate of his libeller:

From the Richmond Enquirer of 1824.

"We cannot consent to lend a hand toward the election of such a man as Andrew Jackson."

"We would deprecate his election AS A CURSE upon our country."

"One who, in any great crisis, would convert the whole country into one great camp, and would reduce almost everything under martial law."

"Compare him with Adams and Crawford, and how inferior must he be."

"We can commend General Jackson's modesty in retiring from the Senate and the bench, where he discovered the superior qualifications of other people. Can we say as much for his modesty when he is now aspiring to the highest office in this nation?"

"He is too little of a statesman, too rash, too violent in his temper, his measures too much inclined to arbitrary government, to obtain the humble support of the editor of this paper."

"What kind of a President would this great civilian make? A gentleman who cannot interpret the plain expression of one law; and yet would be called upon to administer all the laws of the land! One whose ideas are so purely military, that he would transmute a traitor into a spy, or would punish treason, not by the civil courts, but by a courtmartial."

General Jackson's estimate of Thomas Ritchie.

"I have often heard him (Jackson) use these emphatic words: 'RITCHIE IS THE GREATEST SCOUNDREL IN AMERICA.'"

In another of these letters, Gen. Jackson is stated to have said: "I see that I am attacked in Congress by Cooke, Whitman, and Williams, aided by that infamous press, the *Richmond Enquirer*. If such a corrupt press as the *Richmond Enquirer* were to approbate my conduct, I should think that in some unguarded moment I had committed some great moral impropriety."

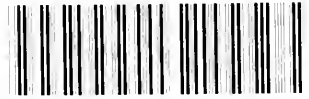
[Breckenridge's letters.]

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